

night formed a strange contrast to the death and destruction this burning demon inflicted wherever it fell.

The rebel ram, Stonewall Jackson, came up and struck the Varuna on the quarter and she began to sink, but though he knew she was sinking, Boggs continued to fire, and finally, in order to save his men, he turned her head in shore and beached her, all of his crew being taken off by other ships of the fleet. It was with feelings of delight that Boggs saw his two adversaries, shortly after, driven ashore and in flames, while their crews were almost annihilated. A lucky chance saved the Oneida from disaster in passing the forts. She was caught in a strong eddy and shot so close in under the fort that the gunners could not depress their guns, and everything passed harmlessly over her, while she was enabled to pour in a murderous raking fire of cannon as she flew by.

The action now became general, and it is truly said that the valley of the Mississippi was literally the valley of death and destruction. The grand central figure of this sea of flame and hissing, screaming shot and shell, was the Hartford, doubly grand now, as she carried the man whose pluck and ability were destined to break the confederacy in twain and speedily end the war. After some difficulty in getting her anchors, the Hartford dashed through the fire of the forts for fifteen minutes without returning a shot. Already the surface of the river was plowed by shot and shell into a sheet of foam, tinged here and there, with the life blood of the men of both sides, and occasionally a dark object would float past which was instinctively felt to be the body of some luckless fellow who fell overboard and could not be rescued. At 4 o'clock the Hartford opened her broadsides in reply to the forts, and cheers and yells of defiance were exchanged between fleet and fort, while each poured in a deadly short range fire, and strove demon like for the mastery. Absolute darkness, like a pall, settled on the scenes, and the fire rafts were the only things distinguishable on the river.

At 4:15 A.M., just as the Hartford was past the forts, she discovered a fire raft on her port side. So the vessel was sheered to avoid the burning raft. She unfortunately grounded on a spit, and then it was she discovered the Manassas behind the vast pyramid of flames. The Hartford being hard aground, the ram advanced and swung its long, high sheets of flame against the Hartford's side. A wall of fire reaching from stem to stern, rolling in at the ports, driving the men in dismay from the guns, surging up and over the bulwarks, and setting fire to her shrouds. At the same time the ram's shells had set fire to the Hartford between decks, while the forts battered her mercilessly as she lay on the bank helpless. It is in emergencies such as the present that Farragut always arose to the demands of the hour. He coolly directed the reversing of the engines, and the extinguishing of the flames, and soon the Hartford slipped off her dangerous bed, and in defiance threw broadside after broadside into her adversaries as she passed them in her upward course. Just as she was about to join her consorts, a gunboat, literally full of men, ran for her with the intention of boarding her, but was met by a shell from the forward pivot which blew her up, and with her human freight she was engulfed in the turbid waters of the swift river, never to be heard of again. Having silenced the forts, sunk or captured the rebel gunboats, and dispersed all opposition, the fleet stood up the river for New Orleans, and were fired on from the Charlotte batteries, but they were soon silenced and deserted, and Farragut stood upward, and on arriving at the city, was confronted by one of the most desolate scenes conceivable. On all hands was fire, and the destruction wrought in a spirit of spite cost millions to replace, and did no good. Farragut hoisted the stars and stripes on the custom house on Canal street, and wrote to Gideon Welles that he had captured New Orleans, and the Mississippi was open to Memphis.

A COLONIAL STATESMAN ON THE CHINESE QUESTION

Sir George Grey, formerly one of the most successful of England's Colonial Governors, and now an active member of the New Zealand Legislature, and leader of the Opposition, in a recent speech against the proposed confederation of the Colonies, brought in the Chinese Question in the following terms:

"I have had the matter put to me in this form: 'Why do you object to Chinese coming into New Zealand?

they are a patient race, they are laborious, they are thrifty, they can live on very little, they are obedient, they are easily kept under control, they can be got in many thousands, they can be brought to New Zealand with great facility, they produce commodities of various kinds: you can get people from India and other countries as well as from China. In this way there would be great trade and commerce; large fortunes would be made: trade and commerce would flourish here. Why, therefore, are you so selfish as to deprive Great Britain of that immediate wealth which would be attained by the efforts of colonists through these means?' My answer to that is that we did not come here for such a purpose. We came here to establish a British nation. (Cheers). We came here to see that nation grow up by sure if slow degrees. We came here in the hope that the millions would come from the old country, having suffered greatly there, that they would establish here humble but happy homes in which there would also be plenty, content, civilization, and an educated people. These lands on which we enter for a future for us, they will produce in response to the labor that is expended upon them. Let us then have one home for the poor of our race in at least one country on the face of the earth let us have a nation here with the Anglo-Saxon instincts. (Cheers). We do not wish to meddle with them; we do not wish to interfere with these distant races, but let them leave us in peace. With the natives of these islands we can dwell in peace, happiness, and contentment, as we have already done for years. They are a race with noble instincts, with whom our race has inter-married, and of whose excellence we have many proofs. There are many ladies sprung from them who are now fulfilling all the duties of mothers and wives in the most exemplary manners, creditably to themselves and the race from which they sprung. Why should not these colored races of other lands come here to interfere with us as Anglo-Saxons?"

At a later period of his speech Sir George reiterated his views as follows:—

"Let us look round the world and consider its present state in one respect. There are more colored subjects of Her Majesty than Anglo-Saxon subjects. There are 220,000,000 of colored people in Hindostan, against 38 or 39 millions in Great Britain. Then there are the British possessions in China, in the Indian Archipelago, her possessions in America and the West Indian islands. You see that the Anglo-Saxon race is in a small proportion. You will observe that where colored labor is employed there is a tendency to approach towards slavery. In such places they are constantly drawing nearer to that point. Laws of an objectionable kind are made, the lash is introduced to punish idleness; there are special laws of vagrancies to apprehend colored servants who have run away. Let us in these lands be satisfied with moderate wealth, humble homes, and a contented and educated people; let us unite to protect ourselves: let us not be led astray by a desire for wealth or fancied greatness through connection with other colonies sustained by colored labor; let us forfeit no privilege that we have, and seek none that such a connection would give us."

THE FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT.

[In one of Mr. Herbert Spencer's latest essays he endeavors to establish the theorem that modern Liberalism as developed in England and the same spirit at work in the still more free atmosphere of America is a reproduction of what he calls Toryism. He bases his argument on the undoubted fact that there is a constant tendency to invest the Government with new functions and to cause it to interfere more and more with human action. A very similar line of thought is found in the essay from which we take the following extract, an essay which was published at the other side of the world almost simultaneously with Mr. Spencer's.—Ed. P.C.A.]

If there was any axiom in political science respecting which philosophical thinkers of the last generation were agreed, it was the desirability of limiting the sphere of the govern-

ment as much as possible. They proved to us with admirable force that the interests of human liberty and of individualism demanded that everything should be left to personal enterprise that could be so left. Moreover it was shown that when they went a step beyond their proper functions of administering law, preserving order, and organizing national defence, governments were sure to fall into the most stupendous blunders. Government action was regarded as but another name for dull routine, slavish conventionalism, and ponderous inefficiency. Every attempt to extend this action was a mistake, and if the object in attempting to extend it was to secure special benefits to any particular class, it was not only a blunder, it was also a crime. Just so far as men were liberal and progressive, and zealous for the welfare of the people, were they earnest in asserting these principles. They represented the last results of political science. How does the case stand now? We see these principles on all sides abandoned just at the time that they gained general acceptance. In all civilized countries governments are every day assuming new functions, and the representatives of political progress are urging them to assume more. The state in many countries is the universal educator and the universal carrier. It works the post and the telegraph. It is the great dispenser of charity. It is urged to become the sole landlord, and to transform itself into a great national assurance company. The old distrust of the honesty and efficiency of governments has given place to a belief in their supreme goodness and their omnipotence. The spoken or unspoken trust of the people now appears to be that the knottiest social problems, which have withstood the attempts of ages to solve them, although too tough for individual effort, must yield at once to the collective force of the state. The term "socialist," from being one of reproach, is now complacently assumed by some of the most conservative of men. Nor have these changes any essential connection with the growth of democracy. If they were always seen to be proportionate to the growth of the democratic principle, we might simply and adequately explain them by saying that as the people felt themselves to be more and more the source and the determining authority of the Government, their distrust and suspicion of the Government disappeared. They sought to restrict the powers of the Government, we might say, when they felt that those powers might be used against them, but are now willing to extend them since they see that the Government is but a mere expression in administrative action of their opinion and will. This explanation is, no doubt, true to an extent, but it is not the whole truth. We do not usually regard Prince Bismarck as a representative of the democratic principle, yet he has perhaps gone further than any European statesman in seeking to embody some of the principles of socialism in legislation, avowedly directed for the relief of the laboring classes. The House of Lords is not an assemblage dominated by the principles of social radicalism, yet it was a conservative committee of this body which recently adopted and recommended a scheme of agrarian revolution in Ireland, to be carried out by the state, with the object of converting the tenant farmers of the country into freeholders. Lord Salisbury is not considered an advanced Radical, yet he has lately discovered and affirmed with characteristic energy that it is one of the first duties of England to provide decent dwellings for its poor. Houses for the poor—but houses only? Certainly not. If the state recognizes that it is responsible for the housing of its poor as a necessary condition of their comfort, and almost of their humanity, are there not many other conditions for which it at the same time makes itself responsible? Lord Salisbury, perhaps, like Prince Bismarck, is willing to open the door wide enough for a genteelly-attenuated stream of socialism to enter, but, once it is opened at all, events may assume the disposal of matters in a very different way, and roughly push open the door to its fullest extent. However, this does not concern us now. We have been merely reviewing the way in which we are forsaking old political principles affirmed in the interest of progress and liberty and social stability, and avowedly in the same interest have exchanged or are exchanging them for an opposite set, the working development of which it is at present impossible to foresee. What was once an axiom is now a heresy, what a generation ago marked the utmost attainment of advanced political thought has become obsolete and antiquated, and belongs only to the past.

In seeking for a few characteristic instances of the changes of thought and belief which mark the age in which we live I have, on system, sought these rather in conservative quarters than among the representatives of radical thought in religion or politics. The Pope of Rome is not a freethinker; he is bound by his place, his traditions, his obligations, his surroundings, to the maintenance of the most steadfast orthodoxy. Mr. Matthew Arnold, though his cast of mind is critical, is by temper and sympathy conservative. And the political authorities whom we have quoted as evidences of change are men whose avowed function and object is resistance to change in the interests of conservatism. Yet, as we have seen, they all drift with the mighty current, and serve only to illustrate the law of change which is their mission to deny and to oppose. They change, and we all change, change in regard to matters which we look upon as the most fixed and immutable. Principles which to one age are axiomatic and self-evident, are questioned in the next, and viewed as exploded fallacies in a later one. Our most certain beliefs are so only for the time and circumstances. Our highest truths are not so absolute, they are relative only, relative to our intellectual conditions, to the circumstances in which we live. The cruelly cold-blooded maxim "Bear yourself towards your enemies remembering that one day they may be your friends, and to your friends remembering that they may be your foes," has application also to our most assured intellectual principles. We can properly hold them as provisional only, valid merely while the conditions which gave birth to them remain the same, and while the circumstances to which they are to be applied continue unchanged. They are the product of ever-changing factors in ourselves and the world around us. Certain as they may appear now, humanity has in times past done without them, and will, in all probability, discard or modify them in the future. We live in a world of ceaseless flux. The difference in stability and permanence between the mountain masses which, to our minds, stand as the type of fixed immutability, and the evanescent clouds continually forming and dissolving in the azure ocean above us is but one of degree. Could we ignore the conditions of time, which so often disguise realities from our minds, we should see that the mountains, too, are but the passing symbols of ever-restless forces, producing and destroying, just as are the cloud-wreaths above our heads. There is no final resting place for humanity. The law of its existence is one of progress, an incessant advancing to and recession from. It is always arriving and leaving behind. The paramount requirement is, that it should keep its mind free to accept as to relinquish, to cast aside the most treasured mental possession when it has ceased to justify itself by the test of adaptability to the world around and within, to welcome the new truth, no matter what has to be removed to make way for it, and to trust to its own plastic powers of conforming to new conditions which have carried it so safely through all the changing vicissitudes of the past, to do so also through those of the present and of the future.

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Kohala, November 29, 1883, Feb23-37w

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